1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OXC

the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

753 sicknesses were the result sometimes of malicious practices on the part of ogresses (*vehine hae*); sometimes, of evil influences that had entered the mother during the time of pregnancy through food that she ate or through other contact with something belonging to the woman; sometimes the evil influences were supposed to come to the child through the father.

NATIVE MALADIES

164 The ailments of the natives prior to European contact were very few. My time was too limited to make careful investigations with regard to just what maladies were known in the early days, and little attention was given to the question of the introduction and spread of disease brought by visitors, the causes of depopulation, and the like. Père Pierre Chaulet was a doctor of medicine as well as a Catholic priest. In a manuscript which he left (4) he writes that, according to the natives, the only maladies in the ancient days were colds (*hapu*), asthma (*hekei*), a kind of venereal malady (*pa'atita*) [described by a modern informant as consisting of sores, which attacked the mouth, nose and private parts], venereal ulcers (*ukako*), venereal blotches (*uua*), bubo (*ko atua*), thrush (*ke'a*), pimples and pustules (*pata*), blindness (*mata po*), and deafness (*putu'i*). According to this manuscript, all other maladies besides these were introduced. Basings one's conclusions on the rules of *tapu*, one is led to believe that there was something resembling leprosy (*kovi, mohoi*) in the ancient days, and the same reasoning applies to insanity, violent colics, and the deep ulcers or carbuncles (*puku*). The leprosy that afflicts many natives today was brought by Chinese; influenza, venereal diseases, and so on, by whites.

158 Certain manifestations of violent insanity or madness are described by Père Pierre (4). The first was known by the natives as *tutu*. A man afflicted with this madness would rush about the valley, carrying the head of a dead person in his hand and throwing stones at people. An evil spirit was supposed to have entered his body. If a woman were so afflicted, it was thought to be a *fanaua* spirit that had entered her.

A more violent and dangerous insanity was called *nei*. A man so afflicted would clothe himself in green coconut leaves split into small strips, wallow in the mud, rub himself all over with, and sometimes eat, human excrement, and, carrying the head of a dead person, would rush about frothing at the mouth and crying, *"Vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, vo, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu, pu!"* Such a one would catch women, tickling them under the arm-pits in order to be able to attack them and would eat their flesh. It is said that anything red would throw him into a frenzy. This madness was supposed to attack individuals especially at the time when the

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine 142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development; the women are outstandingly handsome even by European 164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have developed little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the contagions introduced by the whites.

648 797 Although the Marquesans have been under French domination since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the time of my visit in 1920–22, Marquesan was already a broken [124] culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effective resistance which was open to them: they ceased to breed. This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated entirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137]

[pp. 1–136 not processed]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The story of the Marquesan population is the story of the Hawaiian and other Polynesian populations. From the data in Table I, supplied to me by Handy, it will be seen that in the course of the last 150 years the estimated population has shrunk from about 100,000 to less than 2,000. Handy says:[3]

> The condition of the health of the modern Marquesan is most distressing. I speak without exaggeration when I say that I doubt if there is a wholly sound physical specimen of a Marquesan alive. The principal diseases that are rampant are leprosy, syphilis, elephantiasis, a very rapid wasting pulmonary tuberculosis called *pokoko*, tubercular trouble in the throat, glands, and intestines, and deep ulcers and carbuncles. Dental caries is common.

In view of the theories of a Caucasoid origin of the Polynesian peoples it is likewise very desirable to keep clearly in mind the possibilities and probabilities of modern intermixture.

> From 1800 to 1838 there were only a few deserters from whalers. In 1838 the Catholic missionaries arrived and the French took possession of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Ua Huka. A small French colony with a maximum population of 100 was established. The white population probably never exceeded 100 in the whole group. Today it consists of about a dozen Catholic fathers and sisters and about twenty others. In 1880 a group of Cantonese Chinese were brought into the islands. It is probable that there were never more than 100 in the islands. There are now about thirty. Native women used to marry freely with the Chinese but the intermarriage ceased about ten years ago. The reason for the number of part Chinese today is not the number of Chinese immigrants, but the fact that the half-Chinese are sturdy, healthy, and good breeders. They resist the diseases that take off the natives and half whites.

Another point of interest is Handy's statement to the effect that the Marquesans are very accurate in remembering ancestry and as a general thing showed neither desire to conceal nor to boast of white blood if they had it. It is not a matter either for pride or shame. The amount of unadmitted modern white blood in our series is very probably negligible.

TABLE 1.—THE POPULATION OF THE MARQUESAS

DATE OF CENSUS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
1. Prehistoric:	Estimated to have been between 50,000 and 100,000, fluctuating with periods of plenty and famine.
2. 1773:	Cook estimated 50,000 for three southeastern islands. About 100,000 for the entire group.
3. 1804:	Krusenstern estimated 16,000 for Nuku Hiva. About 50,000 for entire group.
4. 1838:	Dupetit-Thouars estimated 20,000 for the entire group.
5. 1856:	Jouan estimated 12,500 for entire group.
6. 1867:	Lawson manuscript gives 7,411 for entire group.
7. 1884:	Clavel estimated 4,865 distributed as follows:

[3] Personal communication.

/15 cont./ 164 842

A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178]

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 854 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

/57 cont./

on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional reported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander. Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relationship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the relatively small size of population units, in many of which it is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female. In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35.

/74 cont./ 186 515 648 [154]
white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomonon, arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, 164 ●
providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the 192
most common are: 578

/75/ puna — an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane' — an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama — an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along the shore. [136]

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rere), 164
especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are 578
commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having [833]
come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates [763]
or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscené vocabu- 192
lary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having 602
831

/75 cont./ Having 192 607 831 [177]
been exposed to a certain amount of American obscenity, as a result of visits of American ships, both private and military, a number of Marquesans inquired as to the meaning of several of our more common expressions of this type. When these had been explained, they expressed considerable shock, almost verging on disbelief. One elderly person exclaimed that he now knew why the sailors of the U. S. S. Arkansas, which visited the /76/ islands in the '20's, had started to fight when one sailor used a term of this type in referring to another.

Venereal Disease

Venereal diseases are known among the Marquesans by the generic name of mate'uapu -- street sickness -- alluding to the fact that one "runs loose in the street" to contract the disease. (The term definitely appears to be a result of culture contact.) 164 ●

Several types of diseases are distinguished on the basis of the syndrome manifested.

mimi hati	"broken urine" - gonorrhea	164
hao'ehi	"white man's discharge" - probably lympho granuloma inquinale. Described as characterized by running sores around the genitalia, in the mouth. Epilation of the pubis and loss of finger and toe nails also occur if disease is not checked.	192
pa'atita	"many ripe (things)" - probably syphilis, in primary stage, characterized by chancre on mouth and within.	

Syphilis is a relatively rare phenomenon in the Marquesas, by far the most common diseases being gonorrhea and lympho. During the entire period of field work in the Marquesas, only two individuals with the characteristic saddle-bridge nose of the advanced syphilitic were seen. One of these admitted to having contracted a venereal disease 164

/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene.

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment.

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation.

/78/ haika mimihati — "medicine for broken urine"
ki'i'ama — skin of the candlenut (Aleurites triloba F)
ki'i kehika — skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
'aka hau — roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
'aka outi — root of Cordyline terminalis
noni vehine — fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
noni vahana — (round and square stemmed respectively)

/78 cont./ 757

These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut (i'ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times daily for three days.

haika hao'ehi	"medicine for the white man's discharge"
te tupu o te puhipuhi	iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823
vai hitoro	juice of the lime

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!) 757 797 177

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here. 757

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 164 ● 175

/79 cont./ 164 175
crew (1596) got on so infamously with the natives that it is difficult to see how there could have been too much chance to transmit the diseases to the native population. It is almost certain, however, that the diseases were present among Mendana's crew, as they had come from Peru and Chile where venereal diseases were endemic among the population.

In 1791 Marchand (p. 113) reported that his crew showed some symptoms of venereal disease after leaving the bay in which Mendana had stopped /80/ nearly 200 years earlier. However, with the diagnostic techniques at their stage of development in 1791, it is quite possible the crew members in question might have been afflicted with some nonspecific urethritis, resembling a venereal infection.

This explanation is all the more likely in view of the statements given to Krusenstern in 1804 by an English deserter who had resided in both northern and southern groups of the archipelago for a number of years previous. This individual declared that there was no venereal disease present at that time. It was probably shortly after that the diseases were introduced by whaling crews who flocked to the islands in the early years of the nineteenth century. The American occupation of Taiohae, Nuku Hivá, ensured that the diseases were firmly implanted on Nuku Hiva. By the time of the French occupation in 1840, venereal disease had so spread among the breeding population that sterility was a very common phenomenon (Garcia 1843).

Discussion and Comparisons

A. Population

Estimates of the maximum aboriginal population of the Marquesas have been very confusing, as most European visitors to these islands saw very limited segments of the population of one or two islands, and then made estimates for the populations of those islands which in turn were used by later writers as the basis for further extrapolations, yielding "estimates" of the 161 174

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan-European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital information on the culture, which was subsequently used to hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable